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Author(s)	Miyazaki, Kumiko
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Objects and Object Markers in Lunyole

MIYAZAKI Kumiko

0. Introduction

In this paper, I reviewed the objects and object markers in Lunyole, focusing on their occurrence and its restrictions in different types of verbal constructions. In section 1, the grammar of Lunyole is overviewed. In section 2, the occurrence of objects and objects markers in Lunyole and its restriction which relates to animacy is discussed. In Lunyole there are some verbs which can take two objects and object markers. Data is examined in single object construction where a verb can take only one object and in double objects construction where a verb can take two objects. Finally in section 3, I discuss applicative construction in Lunyole, emphasising the animacy hierarchy in Lunyole applicative construction together with the grammatical function and various semantic roles of applied objects. In Bantu languages, applicative constructions are morphologically marked on the verb. The newly added objects (applied object) express semantic roles different from the ones base verbs are originally assigned. These applicative constructions have been of interest for researchers in terms of the status of those objects (either in symmetric or asymmetric languages), word order of objects and object markers in the constructions and animacy hierarchy (Bresnan & Moshi 1990, Shinagawa, Yoneda 2008, among others). Using these criteria as parameters, studies have been conducted on the morpho-syntactic variation (Lutz 2007, Shinagawa 2015).

Lunyole is spoken in the Butaleja district, Tororo prefecture, in the eastern part of Uganda¹. The data presented in this study was collected by the author in Namulo village of Butaleja district in Uganda². Studies by Wondela (2004) and Douglas (2006) are examples of the literature on Lunyole grammar.

1. Lunyole grammar overview

The Lunyole verbal construction is as follows. The underlined elements are always required.

(1) PreSM/NEG₁-SM-NEG₂-TAM-OM/REL-Verb Root-Verbal Extensions-FV-PreF³

¹ According to Guthrie's classification, Lunyole is classified as E33.

² The research was conducted during August–September in 2004 and in February in 2006. The research was supported by JSPS KAKENHI (Grant Number 13301027, KAJI Shigeki) and the Sasakawa Scientific Research Grant. The data may include any mistake and can be collected after further research.

³ Abbreviations in this paper are 1, 2, 3 ...: noun class number, although the number before SG/PL stands for person (1st, 2nd and 3rd) 1SG/1PL: 1st person singular/1st person plural., APPL: Applicative, CAUS: Causative, FV: Final Vowel, INF: Infinitive, Neg: Negative marker (NEG₁ precedes SM. NEG₂ is used in

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|--------|--|--------------------------------|-------------|
| (2) a. | sí-hu-á-mu-gul-il-a | | e-ŋómbé. |
| | NEG ₁ -SM1PL-PAST-OM1SG-buy-APPL-FV | | 9-cow |
| | ‘We did not buy a cow.’ | | |
| b. | si-mu-ba-ile | ni-mu-li | hu-som-a |
| | NEG ₁ -SM2PL-COP-PF | PreSM-SM2PL-be | INF-read-FV |
| | ‘You were not studying.’ | | |
| c. | aba-seele | aba-ta-emb-a | |
| | 2-boy | REL2-NEG ₂ -sing-FV | |
| | ‘boys who are not singing.’ | | |

Chart 1. Lunyole noun class, subject markers and object markers

class	noun prefix	SM	OM
1SG/1PL	-	n-/hu-	n-/tu-
2SG/2PL	-	o-/mu-	hu-/ba-
3SG/3PL	-	a-,ga-/ba-	mu-/ba-
1	omu-	a-/ga-	mu-
2	aba-	ba-	ba-
3	omu-	gu-	gu-
4	emi-	ji-	ji-
5	e-	li-	li-
6	ama-	ga-	ga-
7	ehi-	hi-	hi-
8	ebi-	bi-	bi-
9	e(N)-	i-	i-
10	e(N)-	ji-	ji-
11	olu-	lu-	lu-
12	aha-	ha-	ha-
13	otu-	tu-	tu-
14	obu-	bu-	bu-
15	ohu-	hu-	hu-
16	ŋa-	ŋa-	ŋa-
17	hu-	hu-	hu-
18	mu-	mu-	mu-
20	ogu-	gu-	gu-
22	aga-	ga-	ga-

Chart 1 shows noun classes, subject markers and objects markers in Lunyole. Lunyole nouns are classified under noun classes. Lunyole nouns are classified into 20 different classes, and

relative clause and an imperative sentence and it follows SM or REL), OM: Object marker, PAST: Past tense marker, PF: Perfect final, PL: Plural, PreF: Pre final, PreSM Pre Subject marker, REV: Reversive, REL: Relative marker, SG: Singular, SM: Subject marker, STAT: Stative, TAM: Tense aspect marker

these noun classes are the base of agreement system in Lunyole grammar. Subject markers and object markers, which are components of verbs, are agreed with the class of subject nouns and object nouns, respectively.

2. Occurrence of Objects and Objects Markers in Lunyole

2.1. In Single Object Construction

Following examples show object nouns and object markers in simple object construction where a verb takes only one object noun. In this construction, the object noun and object marker cannot occur together. Co-occurrence of object noun and object marker is considered as ‘repetition’ and ungrammatical. The same rule applies both when the object noun is [+animacy] and [-animacy] as shown in (3) and (4).

- (3) a. bába a-láng-á ómw-aná.
 1.father 1SM-call-FV 1-child
 ‘Father calls a child.’
- b. bába a-mú-láng-á.
 1.father 1SM-1OM-call-FV
 ‘Father calls him/her (1-child).’
- c. *bába a-mú-láng-á ómw-aná⁴.
 1.father 1SM-1OM-call-FV 1-child
 ‘Father calls a child.’

- (4) a. hu-ŋ-a áma-téma.
 SM1PL-give-FV 6-banana
 ‘We gave bananas.’
- b. hu-ga-ŋ-a.
 SM1PL-6OM-give-FV
 ‘We gave them(6-banana).’
- c. *hu-ga-ŋ-a áma-téma.
 SM1PL-6OM-give-FV 6-banana
 ‘We gave bananas.’

2.2. In Double Objects Construction

In Lunyole there are some verbs which can take two object nouns without being preceded by any preposition. In these construction an indirect object has to precede a direct object as shown

⁴ Example (3c) can be heard in the conversation but it is considered not ‘real’ Lunyole by Nyole people.

in (5)⁵.

- (5) a. hu-η-a ómw-aná áma-téma.
SM1PL-give-FV 1-child 6-banana
‘We gave children bananas.’
b. * hu-η-a áma-téma ómw-aná.
SM1PL-give-FV 6-banana 1-child

Both of these objects can be marked by object markers at the same time, and object markers which agree with a direct object precede the one which concurs with an indirect object marker as shown in (6).

- (6) a. hu-ga-mú-η-a.
SM1PL-6OM-1OM-give-FV
‘We gave them (6-banana) him/her (1-child).’
b. *hu-mu-ga-η-a.
SM1PL-1OM-6OM-give-FV

As already seen in 2.1, in the simple verbal construction, object noun cannot occur together with object markers and this restriction does not relate to animacy of object nouns. However the rule differs in double objects construction where a verb takes two objects. Depending on the animacy of object nouns there is a restriction on co-occurrence of objects and object markers. When objects nouns are [+animate], these objects nouns generally co-occur with object markers as shown in (7a), although these object markers are not always required when the object nouns which concord are understood out of the context as shown in (7b). When object nouns are [–animate], these object nouns and objects markers cannot co-occur as shown in examples (7c) and (7d).

- (7) a. hu-ga-mu-η-a ómw-aná.
SM1PL-6OM-1OM-give-FV 1-child
‘We gave them(6-banana) to child.’
b. hu-ga-η-a ómw-aná.
SM1PL-6OM-give-FV 1-child
‘We gave them(6-banana) to child.’

⁵ There is not sufficient data to show if the priority of the animacy of the object relates to this word order or indirect object always has to precede direct object without depending on their animacy or animacy level.

- c. hu-mu-ŋ-a áma-téma.
 SM1PL-1OM-give-FV 6-banana
 ‘We gave bananas to him/her.’
- d. *hu-ga-mu-ŋ-a áma-téma.
 SM1PL-6OM-1OM-give-FV 6-banana
 ‘We gave bananas to him/her.’

2.3. In Applicative Construction

In Lunyole, applicatives are morphologically marked on the verb. The Lunyole applicative marker *-il* appears after the verb root. The applicative marker *-il* becomes *-el* according to the vowel harmony.

As in many Bantu languages, applicative construction in Lunyole licenses the introduction of a new object (applied object⁶). An intransitive verb can also license the verb to have an object as it is shown in (8b). These newly introduced object nouns cannot occur together with object markers and this restriction does not relate to animacy of object nouns as it is shown in examples (8b) and (8d).

- (8) a. ómw-ana a-dúlúm- á.
 1-child SM1SG-run-FV
 ‘He runs’
- b. ómw-ana a-dulum-il-a nina.
 1-child SM1SG-run-APPL-FV 1.mother
 ‘He/she runs toward his/her mother.’
- c. ába-aná ba-líl-ílé.
 2-child SM2-cry-PF.
 ‘Children cried.’
- d. ába-aná ba-líl-íl-ílé éhi-téteí.
 2-child SM2-cry-APPL-PF 7-dress
 ‘Children cried for a dress.’

A Transitive verb can have two objects after introducing new object. In the examples, (9a) shows that the object of the verb *-soma* ‘read’ is *ehitaabo* ‘a book’. As it is shown in (9b), the applicative verb introduces the new object *Tom* in the construction.

⁶ In this paper, newly introduced object is called ‘applied object’ and the object to the base verb is called ‘base object’. For example, in (8b), Tom is applied object and *ehí-táábó* in (8a) and (8b) is base object.

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|------------|
| (9) a. n-á-som-a | ehí-táábó. | |
| SM1SG-PAST-read-FV | 7-book | |
| 'I read a book.' | | |
| b. n-á- som-el-a | Tom | ehí-táábó. |
| SM1SG-PAST-read-APPL-FV | 1.Tom | 7-book |
| 'I read a book for/instead of Tom.' | | |

- | | | | |
|--|----------------------|---------------|---------------|
| (10) a. bába | a-láng-íl-á | jája | ába-aná |
| 1.father | 1SM-call-APPL-FV | 1.grandmother | 2-children |
| 'Father called the children for grandmother' | | | |
| b. *bába | a-láng-íl-á | ába-aná | jája |
| 1.father | 1SM-call-APPL-FV | 2-children | 1.grandmother |
| c. *bába | a-mú-láng-íl-á | ába-aná | |
| 1.father | 1SM-1OM-call-APPL-FV | 2-children | |
| (Father called the children for her (1-grandmother)) | | | |
| d. *bába | a-bá-láng-íl-á | jája | |
| 1.father | 1SM-2OM-call-APPL-FV | 1.grandmother | |
| (Father called them (2-the children) for grandmother.) | | | |

⁷ Available data is not strong enough to show if the restriction relates to the animacy of object nouns or not. Further research is supposed to provide more data to examine the phenomena.

- d. * hu-bí-ní-íl-á John.
 SM1PL-7OM-cook-APPL-FV 1.John
 (We cook beans for John.)

Bantu languages are distinguished into two types: symmetric object type and asymmetric object type (Bresnan and Moshi, 1990). Symmetric language licenses both the object and applied object as the primary object, and asymmetric language licenses only the applied object as the primary object. In Bantu languages, the criteria to decide the primary object are as follows: i) word order of objects (if verbs can be adjacent to the verb), ii) if either object can be expressed and object marker and iii) if either can become the subject under passivisation (Hyman and Duranti, 1982). In terms of criteria ii) given above, as (11c) and (11d) show, only the applied object can be the object expressed by the object marker in Lunyole. Since Lunyole does not have passive construction, I only use the two criteria given above which conclude that only the applied object is licensed as the primary object; therefore, Lunyole is an asymmetric object type language.

However, the situation is more complex and those criteria mentioned above are not sufficient enough to distinguish the language type⁹. The word order in Lunyole applicative construction appears with a different word order under the restriction of animacy hierarchy of objects. As shown in the above section, in most Lunyole applicative constructions, the word order of the double objects is fixed and the applied object precedes the base object. However, the word order changes depending on the animacy hierarchy of the objects.

When applied object and base object are in same animacy hierarchy level, applied object precedes the base object as shown in (10), and (12). However, when base object is [+animate] and applied object is [-animate], base object precedes to applied object as shown in (13) and (14). This shows that in Lunyole the animacy hierarchy of objects has a greater priority than the syntactic hierarchy between applied object and base object.

- (12) a. Ḿama a-lim-íl-á é-simbó ólw-igá.
 1.Mother 1SM-dig- APPL- FV 9-stick 5- hole
 ‘Mother dig the hole with stick’
 b. *Ḿama a-lim-íl-á ólw-igá ési-mbó.
 1.Mother 1SM-dig-APPL-FV 5- hole 9-stick

⁹ Lutz points that ‘the situation is more complex than a two-split for two reasons: 1) not all languages behave consistently with respect to criteria for symmetry and 2) languages exhibit different behaviors with respect to symmetry depending on the predicate and the nominal complements used in a double object construction and on the discourse status (e.g. focus) of the two objects (Lutz 2007: 12)’.

(13) a.	Máma	a-hub-íl-á	ómw-íbi	é-simbó.
	1.Mother	1SM-hit-APPL-FV	1-thief	9-stick
	‘Mother hit a thief with stick.’			
b.	*Máma	a-hub-íl-á	é-simbó	ómw-íbi.
	1.Mother	1SM-hit-APPL-FV	9-stick	1-thief
(14) a.	Máma	a-hub-íl-á	ómu-sóta	é-simbó.
	1.Mother	1SM-hit-APPL-FV	3-snake	9-stick
	‘Mother hit a snake with stick.’			
b.	*Máma	a-hub-íl-á	é-simbó	ómu-sóta.
	1.Mother	1SM-hit-APPL-FV	9-stick	3-snake

The phenomenon which is illustrated with examples above has no restriction depending on the semantic role of the applied objects as shown in example (15) and (16)¹⁰. These are the examples in benefactive applicative.

(15) a.	n-á-lang-il-a	ába-aná	ésh-ohúlya
	SM1SG-PAST-call-APPL-FV	2-child	7-meal
	‘I called the children for the meal’		
b.*	n-á-lang-il-a	ésh-ohúlya	ába-aná
	SM1SG-PAST-call-APPL-FV	7-meal	2-child
	(‘I called the children for the meal’)		
cf. (16) a.	n-á-lang-il-a	ómu-somésa	ába-aná
	SM1SG-PAST-call-APPL-FV	1-teacher	2-child
	‘I called the teacher for a child’		
b.	*n-á-lang-il-a	ába-aná	ómu-somésa
	SM1SG-PAST-call-APPL-FV	2-child	1-teacher
	(‘I called the teacher for a child’)		

In addition the same word order rule applies to the order of double object markers as shown in (17).

¹⁰ In Lunyole, newly introduced applied objects are given various semantic roles, such as beneficiary, reason/motive, location, direction, instrument and idiomatic use. Sometimes, depending on the context, the semantic roles can be more than one.

- (17) a. n-á-hi-mu-gul-il-a
SM1SG-PAST-7OM-1OM-buy-APPL-FV
'I bought it for him'
b. *n-á-mu-hi-gul-il-a
SM1SG-PAST-3OM-7OM-buy-APPL-FV

As shown in (17a), object marker which agrees with a base object precedes the one which agrees with applied object.

4. Conclusions

In this paper, I reviewed the objects and object markers in Lunyole, focusing on their occurrence and its restrictions in three different types of constructions. In the construction where a verb takes single object, object nouns and object markers cannot co-occur. The animacy of the object nouns, whether they are [+animacy] or [-animacy] does not make any difference in the restriction. However, in the double objects construction where a verb can take two objects nouns, there is a difference in restriction on co-occurrence of the object nouns and object markers. In the double object construction, restrictions on co-occurrence relates to animacy. When objects nouns are [+animate], these objects nouns generally co-occur with object markers, although these object markers are not always required when the object nouns are understood out of the context. When object nouns are [-animate], these object nouns and objects markers cannot co-occur.

In the last section I overviewed the applicatives in Lunyole, focusing on animacy hierarchy of objects. Lunyole is, typically, an asymmetry object language, but it is restricted to an animacy hierarchy of objects. There is a [+animate] > [-animate] hierarchy in Lunyole, and this hierarchy has greater priority than the syntactic hierarchy of objects. It is clear that there is a hierarchy between [+animate] and [-animate], but there is a possibility of a hierarchy between [human] > [animal] > [things] or [non-human]. There is insufficient data to examine this case, and further research is required. In the applicative construction, object markers and object nouns do not occur together and the restriction does not relate to the animacy of the object nouns. Again, the data is not insufficient to examine the detail as mentioned earlier. In addition, in this paper, I only discussed the applicative which can be formed with verbal extensions. As Lutz (2014) demonstrates, there can be other applicative forms which can be constructed with a locative marker. Although the data available is limited, there are examples of locative markers that are used in applicative construction in Lunyole. With the data from further research, I will discuss these phenomena in other papers.

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